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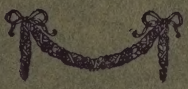
"Dispatch" Articles on the Political Situation in South Africa.



By

Brig.-Gen. The Hon. Sir Charles Crewe,
K.C.M.G., C.B.

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1926.

The Flag Bill.

Report of the speech by Sir Charles Crewe in the City Hall, East London, at the public meeting called by the Mayor to protest against the proposed elimination of the Union Jack from the South African flag. [Reprinted from the "Daily Dispatch" of May 26th, 1926.]

Sir Charles said:—The Mayor has rightly said this is not a political occasion. It is a national occasion, and to show you what some of us think about it let me say that the South African Party have had their meeting, the Sons of England have had their meeting, and other societies theirs, but we felt, those of us who were interested in the earliest stages, that it was necessary for every section of the community to be represented in this hall, and so I went, naturally, to an old opponent of mine on my left (Mr. James Stewart) and I said, it does'nt matter whether we are Labour or S.A.P., this is an occasion when all British people have got to stand together, and so you have an old Unionist member for East London and an old Labour member for East London associating together on this platform to move and second the resolution I have read. (Cheers.)

I want, before I go into the arguments for the retention of the Union Jack—because I want rather to make a speech which is entirely non-party and non-political—to give you the history and the reasons why we are so devoted to the ensign flying in the room. The second reading of the Nationality and Flag Bill was moved by Dr. Malan in the House this afternoon. He dealt for more than an hour with the Nationality Bill, which does not contain much that is very contentious. When he came to the Flag clauses he announced it was the intention of the Government to withdraw the Bill for the session. (Cheers.) It has been decided not to proceed further with this Bill this session, but Dr. Malan gave the House definitely to understand that early next session the Government were going to proceed further with the Bill—("No, no!")—and that the flag which on that occasion would be brought forward would be a flag on the same general principles as those on which the present proposal was based. (Cries of "Never.") That was to say that it would not include the Union Jack. Dr. Malan further said: It has to do with the establishment of an outward and visible emblem of our independent nationhood. What is the meaning of the word "independent?" asked Sir Charles. The word translated in the English dictionary says "owing allegiance to none."

Let me remind you, went on Sir Charles, that in this Union of South Africa there is not a man, woman or child—Dutch, English or German—who is alive to-day who was not born and reared under the British Flag. That applies to all those who have been born in the old Cape Colony and in Natal. Remember again what the history of South Africa is. We have fought many battles with Natives, Europeans, and so forth, but we have always endeavoured to uphold our flag for more reasons than I can tell you in a sentence. Dr. Malan said that this controversy was a case of Sons of England versus the Sons of South Africa. (Cries of "No.") Now that is a very thin argument to use even in Parliament. The Sons of South Africa in this room are just as much

devoted to the flag as the Sons of England. (Cheers.) The Native in South Africa, with his millions, is equally affected. Under that emblem he was raised from barbarism. He has looked upon that emblem as the emblem of freedom and justice all his days, and has just as much right to be called a British subject as we have The Eastern Province was settled under the Union Jack by Sir Harry Smith and his troops in the first place; by the 1820 Settlers, who overcame unheard-of hardships and who suffered terribly from kafir wars and the negligence of the Government of the day; and by the German Legion, whose people are between us and King Williamstown, and who came out here, having fought in the Crimea under the Union Jack, to seek fresh homes and prosperity in another portion of the Empire. They, too, had known no other flag, and I am perfectly certain that if you take a plebiscite in the Cape Colony you will find an enormous majority of the Dutch, English and German who want no change, and no threats, abuse or exhibition of force will alter that determination in this part of South Africa. I have uttered a good deal of sentiment, but the right sort of sentiment keeps people together, and it was such sentiments that had kept the Union Jack flying. (Loud cheers.)

If you substitute the Union Jack ~~for~~ FOR THAT (exhibiting coloured representations of the proposed new flag to furious cries of derision from all parts of the hall), what becomes of the larger Union of South Africa? We have always been told—and I agree—that our future in this continent is that of the leading European race, and that if we are to have South Africa united properly we must have in it the larger native territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. I know of no people who are more determined to have a larger and finer status than the present Government, yet can you imagine for one moment that the Natives, who have been reared under the British flag and taught to respect it, are coming into the Union under any other flag? What about Northern and Southern Rhodesia? They are our own people. Are they likely to come into the larger Union under any other flag but the Union Jack? Then what becomes of the larger status of South Africa? We are not alone in Africa. There are the French, Belgians and Portuguese. What respect do you think these nations would pay to a Union of South Africa flying a new kind of Vierkleur? When you come to deal with the business of the country—and I have been a Minister—you find that your business is done in Paris, Brussels and Lisbon. It was very largely done out of South Africa, because the nations I have named govern their colonies. They don't, like us, hand over the Dominions to the people on the spot. You would have, therefore, the nice sight of this country trying, under a new flag, to do business with countries who never will recognise its flag.

The answer to those points is, that the Union Jack is not to disappear, but is to fly on occasions connected with Empire matters. (Prolonged derision and dissent.) What is an Empire matter? The answer to that is, there is no moment of the day and no moment of the night when we, who are British subjects, should be called upon to forget we are a Dominion of a great Empire for which our men have recently fought. (Prolonged cheers.) However strongly South African we may be—and we in this hall are all strong South Africans—we are equally strongly British subjects, because we know perfectly well that the flag we have, and for which our boys died, is the flag which is going to lead the nation

on to still greater things in the future than it has done in the past, great though that past has been. We are strongly South African, and desire to see our country grow, flourish and prosper, but we do not believe it is possible, on this shank end of a huge black continent, to govern the country unless we have the support and assistance in guarding our shores of that great Empire which has nurtured us and helped us through our childhood into our manhood. During the course of recent years we have had one or two occasions on which we have done business with other races who live in South Africa, always in the interests of, and with the desire to obtain racial harmony. So we can all look to the Empire, to the Mother Country, as a nation which was anxious to see us prosper and anxious to do the best for us; and the Convention which brought about the Union of South Africa was held in the spirit and with the desire to bring about between Dutch and English a common sentiment and a common patriotism within the Empire.

Do you suppose for one moment that if it had not been suggested at that Convention at Durban that the flag of the Union Jack was to be replaced by some other flag as the emblem of South Africa there would have been any Union? (Cries of "No," and cheers.) I was present at that memorable Convention, and the matter was never mentioned, or suggested, for the simple reason that we were then, all of us, imbued with the convention spirit and were anxious on both sides to deal with one another's troubles in such a spirit that there could be a united nation. All the way through it was a series of compromises; compromises because certain safeguards were necessary. The British people who represented you at Durban realised that for some years afterwards there would be a Dutch controlled Government in South Africa, and therefore certain safeguards were put into the Act of Union. They dealt with many things, and some of us have watched for several years past, with the gravest anxiety, those safeguards being over-ridden.. Take, for instance, the attack upon the Senate, now being continued. Consider the position of the native franchise, where no agreement was possible between the Free State, Transvaal and Natal, because we have always had the Native franchise and they have not, and as it was with the Native franchise so it was with the management of the railways on business lines and the Civil Service Commission. The English-speaking people of this country have kept to the spirit and the letter of the Act of Union, and I hope that no matter what happens during the coming years you will all keep in mind that the Englishman's word is his bond. He never breaks it, and he will endeavour, as far as lies in his power, to keep to the Act of Union, whether it affects him beneficially or adversely. Another reason why we were satisfied to place our trust in the other side section of this nation was because we knew Gen. Botha was there. He devoted the best and last years of his life in the most difficult times when his loyalty stood out above everything else—when he opposed his own people to defend the British Empire and keep his word. Do you remember his words to the British Government in 1914—"Take away the British soldiers to fight in France, I guarantee the safety of the peoples of South Africa." No wonder we all—English and Dutch—admired, revered and, I was going to say adored, and I do say adored, that great statesman, who died far too soon, before his task of abolishing the old animosities was complete. He died for his country because of the war, because of the miseries he went through when he had to

fight his own people. His loss was great, and since he has been gone there has been a period, and there is a period, where race is being set against race, where section is being set against section, and all I can say is that if that is to continue we are in for worse times that we have known yet in this troublous country.

The national flag is unnecessary. We have got one. We have had one since the early days of the Union. Application was made to the college of Heralds for a national flag of South Africa and this was granted. Sir Charles then proceeded to read the full list of Dominion flags, all ensigns of the Union Jack with the Dominion arms on the fly. The South African flag, went on Sir Charles, is a Red Ensign with the Union arms on the fly. There is one dominion which has not the Union Jack in any portion of its flag, but it seems to me that the flag which is green, white and yellow, and represents the Irish Free State, is only obtained under very distressful conditions. Indeed, I do not recommend South Africa to go through what Ireland, and particularly the loyalists in Ireland, went through in order to get an ensign which does not have the Union Jack in it. There was one other Dominion which made an attempt to secure a national flag which did not include the Union Jack, and the result was such a turmoil and uproar that the proposal was entirely dropped. That was Canada, and the Prime Minister said the other day that there would be no national flag in Canada which did not embody the Union Jack as its main emblem.

The Flag Bill in South Africa is postponed until next Session, but there are a great many of you who are very difficult to convince of anything, even if people tell you quite plainly what they mean. We have been told for a very long time that the Government intended to introduce a Flag Bill, and we knew very well that the Union Jack was not going to form the larger portion of it, but we would not believe it. The other day one of the Ministers asked, "Why are you demonstrating so late?" We are late, went on Sir Charles, but we are late because we never believed that any Government would put a flag over this country that did not bear our national emblem. I now want to utter a word of warning. There is no one on this side of the country who will tolerate any outward and visible sign of an altogether separate existence. As I said, we did not protest sooner because we did not believe this insult to the British people was possible. We did not think it could be. One member of the House of Assembly has said that if General Smuts on behalf of the South African Party had accepted the new flag the whole country would have accepted it. (Loud cries of "No!" and "Rot!") I tell you no party leader, not even General Botha, nobody I know, or have ever known, could have induced the British people to throw over the British Ensign. I will remind you of another fact of history. General Botha never asked us in the earliest days of Union to drop the British Ensign. What he did do when one of his Ministers made a wild and foolish speech in which he called the British people "foreign adventurers" was to pitch him out of his Cabinet neck and crop. (Laughter and applause). That was the difference between the two men. Then we have a gentleman who plays a very important part in Parliament these days, Mr. Tielman Roos—(loud cat-calls and cries of derision referring to Roos as a "comedian" and a "humorist.") Don't forget he has the strongest following of any leading Dutchman in the Transvaal and the Free State, replied Sir Charles, who went on: Mr.

Roos said the other day that anybody who supports the Union Jack or the old Republican flag was a racialist. Well, declared Sir Charles, here we have an immense body of otherwise peaceable and quiet-looking people who are bristling with racialism. (Laughter). Where was Mr. Tielman Roos, who was born under the Union Jack, when the test came? (Voice: "Under a motor car.") He was not there, not with either side.

It matters not whether we are Labour or not Labour. Englishmen have made appalling sacrifices, but there is one we are not prepared to make, whether we be Labour or Unionist. We are not prepared to abandon our national flag and our national honour. Again, I remind you that you are a body of unbelievers. For years past a certain section of people in South Africa have told you plainly that their ideal is secession from the Empire, and you were inclined to say: "Oh, no; they don't mean it." Always the whole way through it is the main idea of secession from the Empire, and the first step in the downward path would be the abolition of the Union Jack, our flag. We are prepared to put the Union Jack in the flag and allow them to put in an emblem representing the Free State and Transvaal that will be suitable to them, but we are not prepared to abandon the flag that represents, not only our South African nationality, but our world-wide Empire. I want the Government to understand that those of us who were born under the British flag wish to remain under it, intend to stay under it and keep our flag flying above us, and we know if we don't do that we shall find ourselves faced with a more serious issue than this one. For the flag to go would be a weakness. It would be an indication to other people that we have not got that strength and faith as subjects of the British Empire we ought to have, and the Government would take further steps down that path that leads to racialism and strife, to bayonet and rifle, that path of secession which we will never agree to. There are so many people in this country who gave their sons in the Great War for the Empire, and as a result we have the enhanced status of South Africa. Is there one of them who thought when he went overseas that the result would be an enhanced status out of which the British flag and connections would disappear? I can only say that we are not to be turned from our declaration, but will remain faithful to the Act of Union and the British Empire, and to insist that as long as we are here, and as long as our children desire it, the British flag shall fly over us. (Loud cheers and prolonged applause).

[Reprinted from the "Daily Dispatch," June 16th, 1926.]

The Constitution Threatened.

I.

This article is the first of a series designed to make the public understand the nature of the plot which is afoot to bring about secession by the slow but deliberate process of severing one by one the strands of the rope which tie the Union of South Africa to the great Commonwealth of British nations forming what is known as the British Empire. The constitution of the Nationalist Party sets forth the ideal as separation from the Empire; and there is no reason to suppose that the party has embodied that ideal in Clause 4 of its constitution with any other purpose than the one described, namely, complete and "sovereign independence."

During the past two years there have been several indications that ultimate secession is not being lost sight of. First came the resolve that no honours should be granted by the King in the South African Union. Had it been merely to do away with the granting of hereditary honours, probably everyone of us would agree that such dignities are out of place in a new country which has never known the feudal system, and where there is no House of Peers. Canada has felt as we do on that matter, but in Canada the Prime Minister is a Privy Councillor with the title of Right Honourable, whilst in South Africa, General Hertzog is the only Prime Minister who has not accepted this honour, and is, moreover, the only Prime Minister in the Dominions who is not a Privy Councillor.

Next came the omission of the King's initials from His Majesty's mail vans and of his head from the Union stamps—trifles in themselves, perhaps, but nevertheless further indications; especially when it is remembered that General Hertzog and some of his present friends and supporters visited England not many years ago in order to ask for the restoration of the old Republics.

TAMPERING WITH THE ACT OF UNION.

The Act of Union even is being amended. The Senate Bill of last session was passed with the object of reducing that body's powers, and making it subservient to the Nationalist policy after the next general election. The Act of Union is being defied, too, in other ways. The personnel of the Public Service Commission is to be changed because that body is not sufficiently subservient to the present Government, and had recently the temerity to insist that an English-speaking South African should not be passed over for a particularly important post because he was not sufficiently bilingual, it being considered by the Commissioners to be a post in which the knowledge of one language was sufficient. The Act of Union provides that the railways should be run on business lines, and the railway auditor has recently drawn attention to the uneconomic use of poor white labour. Nothing very important in all these minor indications that laws are merely there to be broken; but, when taken together with more recent happenings, these things indicate that the present Government is not likely to allow itself to be hampered even by specific clauses in the Act of Union.

Last session the Colour Bar Bill was passed, and it applies to the Cape Province as well as to the rest of the Union, a

monstrous act of injustice to the native peoples, designed to keep them from rising above a certain standard of employment, and that, too, in the Cape Province where in former years statesmen of all parties, both Dutch and English, have always refused to agree that colour or race should be a barrier to advancement. It is scarcely necessary to refer to Nationalist leaders' speeches, but one perhaps should not be overlooked. Only the other day a Minister stated that the King's veto could no longer be exercised. Of course the statement was untrue, but it is yet another indication of what this country is being taught.

RECENT LEGISLATION.

Towards the end of last session came the Flag and Nationality Bill, a gross blunder in tactics on the part of the Pact Government. If General Hertzog and his colleagues had continued their policy of adjusting Parliament to suit their aims and objects, and had first docked the Senate of its powers and then proceeded to the disfranchisement of the natives of the Cape before finally tackling the flag and secession, we should probably all of us have awakened to the policy too late to organise effective resistance. Fortunately, the attempt to do away with the Union Jack in the national flag aroused sentiment to such an extent that the Governmen was imperilled, and temporarily the Flag Bill was dropped, to be brought in again next session, when, if a majority can be secured by the assistance of the Labour members of Parliament, the Bill will become law, and the Union Jack will have no place in the South African national flag.

AN ORGANISATION NEEDED.

Party politics disappeared, and the rank and file of Labour were as much concerned as the other sections of the public over the attempted exclusion of the Union Jack from the national flag. It has become necessary now to bring into being an organisation throughout South Africa having for its object the maintenance of the principles of the Act of Union, the flag and all it implies and stands for. That organisation must know no party politics. There are many in the ranks of all parties, many of all European races, and all Natives, coloured people and Asiatics who are determined to uphold the Act of Union and the flag which is the symbol of our place in the British Commonwealth. Our attachment to the Crown and flag is above and beyond all parties. Are there no young men of capacity, energy and judgment who in this crisis of our history will set to work to form such an organisation? There will be plenty of support forthcoming, for the public is deeply moved by recent events. The organisation should be common to all provinces of the Union, and is the more necessary because in other provinces there is no Native franchise, and Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State do not understand the sinister designs which are behind the recently published proposed Bills to be introduced next session dealing with the Native franchise in the Cape and Native matters throughout the Union. There are four of these Bills, two of which deal with the Native and coloured franchise and two with a Native council and Native lands.

The next article of this series will be devoted to the effect of these proposals upon the Cape Province representation in Parliament, and will deal also with the position which must arise in the Eastern Province of the Cape if these Bills become law and the Native elector is thus deprived of his present franchise in the Cape Province.

[Reprinted from the "Daily Dispatch," East London, June 19th, 1926.]

Disfranchisement of Natives.

II.

The two Bills dealing with the Native and Coloured Franchise must be read together, for they provide for the complete repeal of Section 35 of the Act of Union. The one which provides for the erasure of the names of all Natives from the Voters' Rolls of the Union is headed "The Coloured Persons' Rights Bill, 1927." Surely Ministers have no sense of humour! The Native is not only to have no vote for the election of members of the House of Assembly in the Union Parliament, but he is to lose his vote for the Provincial Council and his right in the Cape Province to sit in that Council.

The rights of Native voters in the Cape Province were specially entrenched in Clause 35 of the Act of Union, sub-sections (1) and (2), which read as follows:—

> "Section 35 (1). Parliament may by law prescribe the qualifications which shall be necessary to entitle persons to vote at the election of members of the House of Assembly, but no such law shall disqualify any persons in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope who, under the laws existing in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, at the establishment of the Union, is or may become capable of being registered as a voter, from being so registered in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope by reason of his race or colour only, unless the Bill be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together and at the third reading be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses. A Bill so passed at such joint sitting shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament.
>
> (2). No person who, at the passing of any such law is registered as a voter in any Province shall be removed from the register by reason only of any disqualification based on race or colour."

ENTRENCHED IN THE ACT OF UNION.

At the Convention no agreement between the Provinces was possible for a common Native Franchise policy, and in consequence the Cape delegates, who were not prepared to abandon the Native Franchise then and now in force, caused it to be so entrenched in the Act of Union that any alteration seemed frankly impossible, and sub-section (2) was inserted in order that if any alteration were made, existing native voters should not be deprived of any of their existing rights. Furthermore, the instructions issued to the Governor-General under King Edward's signature at the time of the Proclamation of the Act of Union in Clause 7 says:—

> "The Governor-General shall not assent in Our name to any Bill We have specially instructed him through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State to reserve; and he shall take special care that he does not assent to any Bill which he may be required under the South Africa Act to reserve, and in particular he shall reserve any Bill which disqualifies any person in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, who, under the laws existing in the Colony of the Cape of Good

Hope at the establishment of the Union, is, or may become, capable of being registered as a voter, from being so registered in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, by reason of his race or colour only."

In spite, therefore, of one of our Minister's recent declaration that the King's veto had lost its force and power, it may comfort our natives to know that the veto is specifically retained for Bills designed to deprive them of their rights as voters. The Nationalist Government seems to think that any legislation passed by both Houses of Parliament becomes law, whereas Clause 19 of the Act of Union says:—

"The legislative power of the Union shall be vested in the Parliament of the Union, herein called Parliament, which shall consist of the King, a Senate, and a House of Assembly."

In spite of the most definite wording of sub-section (2) of Clause 35 of the Act of Union, it is proposed in one of these new Bills to be considered by Parliament in the session of 1927 to erase all the names of Native voters from all the electoral rolls of the Union, because of their race and colour, although their rights are most carefully protected, and Parliament and the King are to be asked to assent to a law which is a direct violation of the Act of Union itself and which, under the terms of that Act, cannot become law.

THE REASON WHY.

And what is the excuse for this legislation? General Hertzog gave the true reason in one of his Smithfield speeches, when he pointed out that the Natives controlled some twelve Parliamentary seats. He went on to indicate that the Native vote was venal, and a danger. The answer to that charge is found in the representation of Native constituencies, or divisions in which there is a large Native vote, in Parliament before and after Union. To mention only a few of those who have represented Native electors in Parliament, we have Sir James Rose-Innes, Mr. Sauer, Sir Richard Solomon, Sir John Frost, Mr. Garrett, Sir Bisset Berry, Mr. Merriman, the Hon. Arthur Fuller, Sir Thomas Smartt, and myself. With the exception of Mr. Garrett, every one of the above has been a Cabinet Minister, and all are admittedly men of the highest integrity. There are many others besides those whose names are given; Mr. Theo. Schreiner, for example. So it is not that the native vote has proved untrustworthy; it is not because it is venal. The reason for the proposed disfranchisement of the Cape Native elector is because it gets rid from the rolls of some 14,000 voters who have voted "British"; often for British Labour, or British Unionists, but as often for such as Mr. Sauer and Mr. Merriman, and other supporters of the old Afrikander Bond, who were all men who upheld the traditions of freedom, justice, and fair dealing for which the Cape, irrespective of party, has stood in the past.

Here we have an attempt, disguised somewhat thinly, to rectify Parliament so that further attacks may be made upon the few remaining strands which will still bind us to the Empire.

To turn now to the effect of the disfranchisement in the Cape of 13,989 Parliamentary electors. The Bills provide that there shall be seven members specially representing Natives in the House of Assembly, two each for the Cape, Natal, and Transvaal, and one for the Orange Free State. In Natal there are only two Native electors. In the Transvaal and Orange Free State there is no Native franchise or representation, so that those three Pro-

vinces sacrifice nothing, and no change in their electoral divisions results; whereas the Cape Province Native voter, who at present affects more or less some ten to twelve seats, is to exchange his present rights for the pleasure of electing two members of Parliament—one for the Eastern and one for the Western Cape, whose vote may not be recorded if the Government has announced that the point or Bill under discussion is declared to be a question of confidence.

EFFECT ON EASTERN PROVINCE.

But let us further examine the effect of the loss of 13,989 Native Voters from the Cape Province electoral rolls. True there is to be no loss of members representing the Cape Province in the Union Parliament—the representation of the Province remains, as now, at 51 members. But when many thousands of voters are removed from the rolls of electoral divisions, the result must be a very radical alteration of those divisions where the Native vote has been considerable. The quota for the Province will be reduced, and as in the Eastern Province the proportion of Native electors is very large—over 10,000—the general effect must be to give this portion of the old Cape Colony much smaller representation than it has at present, for here we stand to lose some 10,000 of our present electors. This change will, in all probability, not take place till after the Census of 1931 and the immediate subsequent delimitation of constituencies; but it will follow in due course, and Griqualand East will have then to take in practically all of Tembuland, and the whole of the boundaries of the Eastern Province constituencies will be changed, and the result will be to increase the number of constituencies in the south and west, and decrease the numbers of our Parliamentary representations in the Eastern Cape.

King Williamstown, Fort Beaufort, Dordrecht, Aliwal North, Queenstown, East London, Tembuland, Griqualand East, are amongst those constituencies whose voters' rolls will be attenuated, and whose representation may be entirely altered. No one knows, and no one can foresee at present, what the effect of this radical change will be; all that is clear is that 13,989 voters whose interests are best served by adherence to the Empire are to lose their present franchise for that very reason.

Apart from protecting our representation in Parliament, there is the even more important duty which rests upon us to defend the cause of the oppressed, and to see that whilst the Flag flies over us, no act of injustice or oppression is perpetrated, and to insist that the only sound native policy is that pursued for more than one hundred years by all parties and races in the Cape, which was best expressed in Mr. Rhodes's famous doctrine of "Equal rights for every civilised man South of the Zambesi." In all this there is no question as to which European race we happen to belong. The venerated leader of the Afrikander Bond, the Hon. Mr. Hofmeyr, held the strongest views upon the rights of the Natives to fair treatment and he would never have been a party to the monstrous injustice now contemplated under the guise of protecting the European race from Native competition.

THIRTEEN SEATS FOR THE NATIONALISTS.

This article has dealt, so far, only with the general effect of these proposals; but the effect upon the Eastern Province Parliamentary representation will be so marked that it is necessary to note most carefully the effect in those Eastern constituencies in which the Native vote is considerable, and when it is realised

how many seats which are now held by South African Party candidates may go Nationalist because of the loss of the Native vote, it is to be hoped that even those who are afraid of Native competition will realise that for their own safety the Native vote must remain.

In Griqualand East there are 1,035 Natives on the roll; in Tembuland there are 1,903. When these are erased from the roll, one seat must go, as 3,000 votes will be the approximate quota, and Tembuland and Griqualand will in future have one member in place of two. The following table shows the seats most affected in the Eastern Cape by the loss of the native vote and gives the South African Party majority at the last election:—

	Natives on Roll.	Member.	S.A.P. Majority in 1924.
Albany	227	Mr. R. Struben	519
Aliwal North	638	Mr. C. Sephton	174
East London City	682	Rev. W. Rider	94
East London North	407	General Byron	518
Fort Beaufort	584	Sir T. Smartt	180
King Williamstown	1005	Mr. Ballantyne (Mr. L. Moffat unopposed in 1924).	171
Queenstown	859	Previous election	516
Uitenhage	372	Mr. Bates	120
Wodehouse	150	**Nat. Member**	210
Port Elizabeth Central	435	Colonel Reitz	1124
Port Elizabeth South	503	Sir Wm. Macintosh	1344
Three Rivers	693	Mr. D. M. Brown	847
Total natives disfranchised in above constituencies	9493		

There are, of course, smaller and less important numbers in other constituencies.

The effect of Native disfranchisement, as indicated above, will certainly be the loss altogether of one seat in the Transkei. In Aliwal North, Fort Beaufort, King Williamstown, Queenstown, and Uitenhage, the Nationalists will gain five seats from the South African Party, whilst in East London the South African Party will probably lose one seat. Three Rivers becomes most uncertain, and Wodehouse is secured for good to the Nationalists. No one can tell exactly what further changes will follow from the reduced quota and redistribution; but from what can be gathered, the Nationalists expect to gain 13 seats in the Cape Province from the South African Party as the result of this policy of disfranchisement and consequent redistribution, and thus to secure a Nationalist majority in the Cape Province representation in the Union Parliament. If the Pact is not broken up, an attempt will be made next year to pass these measures, and the responsibility will rest upon Labour, for without the help of Labour no such monstrous legislation can pass. If the Pact dissolves before next session, the danger is over, and be it noted it is not only the Cape and its Eastern Province which is attacked, but the whole Union is affected if nearly 14,000 British votes are struck off the roll, for the South African Party will lose something like thirteen seats, hitherto to be relied upon to support the Union and the Flag.

[Reprinted from the "Daily Dispatch," East London, June 23rd, 1926.]

Coloured Persons' Rights Bill.

III.

The Coloured Persons' Rights Bill, to be introduced in 1927 (together with the Native Council and Lands Bills) is the most amazing patchwork legislation ever proposed in any British Dominion. It provides, amongst other things, that every Native is to lose his present franchise and to have his name erased from every present and future Parliamentary and Provincial Council voters' roll. There is to be established a General Native Council elected by the Natives throughout the Union, and in addition, there are to be seven members in the Union Parliament representing Natives. So far we have a definite principle applied, common to the Union; but when one comes to the question of the coloured man's franchise there is no such common principle. In the Cape Province, where there are 20,826 coloured voters now on the rolls, these are to retain their existing and future rights, and the coloured man is treated as a European, subject to certification by the Coloured Persons' and Native Voters' Revision Board, that he is a coloured person as described in the Bill, and has the other usual qualifications. In Natal, where there are 324 coloured voters upon the existing voters' rolls, their names are to be removed from the Parliamentary voters' rolls of the Province. In Natal, the Transvaal, and Orange Free State, in which two latter Provinces there is no coloured franchise, a common roll is to be framed for all coloured persons in those three Provinces who have the qualification of education, wage or income, and whose standard of living conforms to that of European civilisation. For the Transvaal, Natal and Orange Free State, there is to be one additional member elected by the coloured voters to represent them in the Union House of Assembly. It is to be noted that this new constituency is in size more than half of the whole Union, and the additional member representing it will almost surely come from the Transvaal; and so the North will secure an extra member of Parliament, whilst we in the Cape Province, who are already under-represented in the Union Parliament, secure no additional representation.

A BID FOR THE COLOURED VOTE.

If it is right to leave the coloured voter on the electoral rolls of the Cape Province, why is it right to erase his name from similar rolls in Natal? And, further, if the coloured man has the necessary qualifications, why should his name not be placed on the ordinary voters' lists in the Transvaal and Orange Free State? Of course, the explanation is really perfectly simple: it is a bid by the Nationalist Party for the coloured man's vote in the Cape Province, where he already has the vote, and where his vote is of importance at elections in several seats: notably so in Stellenbosch, South Peninsula, Liesbeek, Newlands, Oudtshoorn, Hanover Street (Capetown), Caledon, Three Rivers, and in less degree in other Western Province electoral divisions. In Natal the coloured man's influence is small, and in the Transvaal and Orange Free State he has none at all; and, of course, it will be explained to the Cape coloured elector how deep a debt of gratitude he owes

to the Pact Party for giving his fellows a vote which hitherto has been denied in the old Republics.

A VALUELESS CONCESSION.

But what is the value of that vote? There are no present means of ascertaining how many coloured electors will be found on the voters' rolls of the Transvaal and Free State when those rolls are compiled; but the coloured elector in those Provinces is not to have the franchise as for Europeans, but a separate one, much limited in value. Furthermore, he is by the Bill prevented from any change to a more liberal franchise by the provisions of Clause 9, which say that only after seven years can any change be made in the coloured representation of Natal and the two Northern States, and then only by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament. These provisions are, of course, the concession to the prejudices of the Transvaal, Free State and Natal against any coloured franchise at all; and anyone who supposes that these prejudices which have existed for many, many years in those Provinces are in the least degree likely to be altered in seven years, little understands the people of South Africa.

We can follow easily enough the two usual divergent views: the one which makes civilisation the test of qualification for civil rights, and we can also understand—although disagreeing with it—the attitude of those who make the test that of race and colour. But it is impossible to follow the line of reasoning of the Prime Minister and his followers, who in their proposed Bills appear determined to disfranchise the Native, no matter how educated and civilised he may be, whilst the Asiatic is to remain on the existing rolls, and the coloured man is to retain his rights in the Cape Province; whereas in Natal the coloured man who is now on the voters' rolls is to have his present right replaced by the less valuable franchise, which is all that the people of the old Republics are prepared to tolerate.

INJUSTICE AND LACK OF PRINCIPLE.

In the Bill there is no sign of any governing principle unless one realises that it is not a question of finding a solution of the coloured and Native questions, but merely a very thin device to disfranchise the Native, who values the existing British connection and votes accordingly, and to leave the twenty thousand coloured voters in the Cape Province on the rolls in the hope of securing their votes, whilst granting the coloured men in the other Provinces an almost valueless right, limited so as not to offend the old-time prejudices of the people of the Northern Republics. The injustices and the lack of any principles in these Bills should make us all realise that any such proposals are a direct negation of those principles of equal justice to subject races for which the British Empire in general, and in South Africa the Cape Province in particular, have always stood.

Asiatic voters, who number 24 in Natal, are left with their present franchise, as are those in the Cape Province, who number 2,038. There are no Asiatic voters in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and there is no sign that there will ever be any. Again, one wonders on what principle of justice the South African-born coloured voters in Natal are given a separate and less valuable franchise than that of the European, whilst the imported Asiatic remains on the roll on the same conditions as a European. But then the whole of these measures to be considered in 1927 have

nothing of justice about them, but much of selfish party and race advantage.

It does appear utterly wrong to those of us who are proud of the traditions which have governed the old Cape Colony since its earliest days, that the Native born in South Africa is to lose his present franchise for Parliament and Provincial Council, whilst the coloured man and the Asiatic retain theirs. And whereas the Asiatic, to the number of 24 in Natal, retains his present rights, the 324 coloured people of Natal born in South Africa are to receive in place of their present rights something much less valuable. This wonderful patchwork is called by its authors "measures towards the settlement of native and coloured questions in the Union," but the only result will be a sense of the gravest injustice in the minds of all. There would have been no Union of South Africa had such proposals been insisted on at the Convention.

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Council of Native Delegates Bill.

IV.

The Bill dealing with the establishment of a Native Council for the whole Union, to be introduced in Parliament in the session of 1927, is headed: "A Bill to provide for the Constitution of a Council of Native Delegates representative of the whole Union; for annual meetings of such Council; and to declare its functions and powers." The establishment of such a Council would be right and proper, if it did not disturb existing Native rights, but it does not stand alone. Before such a Council can be brought into being, other Bills must become law, and the present Native representation in the House of Assembly and the other rights of the Natives must be abolished.

Now sub-section 2 of Clause 35 of the Act of Union states that in the event of any measure being passed depriving the Native of his present franchise in the Cape Province, "no person who at the passing of such law is registered as a voter in any province shall be removed from the register by reason only of any disqualification based on race or colour." The proposal to erase the names of all existing Natives from the rolls of the Cape Province is therefore

ILLEGAL AND IMPOSSIBLE.

However illegal, however much in conflct with the terms agreed to by General Hertzog, the late President Steyn and other representatives of the Orange Free State at the Convention which brought about the Act of Union, it is to be done if a sufficient Parliamentary majority can be secured and the consent of the Crown is given.

Instead of the Parliamentary franchise which the Native in the Cape now enjoys to his and our advantage, and in order to make special provision for Natives throughout the Union, in addition to the establishment of a General Native Council, the Natives are to elect seven members of Parliament to represent them. The rights and privileges of those members are limited. The Bill says: "Of those seven members two shall be elected from the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, two from the Province of Natal, two from the Province of the Transvaal, and one from the Province of the Orange Free State." On what figures the representation is so based it is impossible to discover. If we take the figures of the Bantu population of the Union in the Census of 1921, we get—

Orange Free State	423,722	Natal	1,143,140
Transvaal	1,500,955	Cape	1,643,466

Whilst, therefore, the Cape and the Transvaal, each with nearly four times the Native population of the Free State, get two members each, the Orange Free State gets one member, and Natal, with 500,000 fewer Natives than the Cape and some 350,000 less than the Transvaal, secures equal representation with the larger provinces. If such representation is to be given, it should surely be on some basis of numbers, or experience in self-government. The effect is to give to those provinces in which the

Native people have hitherto enjoyed no franchise rights a representation of five members as against the Cape Province's two.

IT DOES NOT AUGUR WELL FOR THE FUTURE

that the Province which has hitherto pursued the broadest and most enlightened policy should be represented by only two members against five from the other provinces where the policy has been very different.

When we come to the provisions for the establishment of the Union Native Council, we are again faced with the fact that there is no common figure on which representation is distributed. There are to be thirty-five elected members, ten each for the Cape, Transvaal and Natal Provinces, and five for the Orange Free State. There are also to be fifteen nominated Native representatives; for the Cape Province five, for the Transvaal and Natal four each, and for the Orange Free State two. Again, the representation of the province with the mose enlightened policy and experienced Native peoples is to be made subservient to those provinces where the Native has been kept in a state of greater subjection.

In the proposed Bill a very great deal is left to be filled in by regulations. The rules of procedure are left to the discretion of the presiding officer, who is to be the Secretary for Native Affairs or some other official of that department appointed by the Minister. It is scarcely to be expected that the Natives in the Cape Province are likely readily to accept the exchange of their present Cape franchise, which they have enjoyed for more than half a century and by which they have for many years had considerable influence in some 12 seats, for a representation of two members in the Union House of Assembly, whose powers will not extend to voting no confidence in any Government, however bad from their point of view. And neither in the Union Parliament nor in the Union Native Council is the Cape Province Native given the representation which should be his both by right of his numbers and by reason of his greater experience and enlightenment. Indeed the

DICE ARE BEING HEAVILY LOADED

against the enlightened and sound policy followed by statesmen of all parties and races in the Cape Province ever since responsible government was granted us.

I had hoped in the next following article to deal with the provisions of the proposed Bill to amend the Native Lands Act of 1913, but it is impossible to follow the details contained in the schedules to the Bill without comparing them district by district throughout the Union with the provisions of the existing Act and the Report of the Beaumont Commission, and it may be some days before an opinion on the merits of the proposed legislation can be formed.

The next article will deal with the constitution of the Nationalist Party and their signed propaganda, and clearly indicate why so large a number fo the public see in the Pact action in regard to the Flag, Native legislation and other matters, a slow but sure progress towards secession.

[Reprinted from the "Daily Dispatch," East London, June 30th, 1926.

The Nationalist Party's Aims.

V.

Only a few weeks ago Dr. Malan, the leader of the Nationalists of the Cape Province, accused General Smuts of "fostering race hatred by proclaiming that the Nationalists were secessionists whereas they had never adopted secession as a plank in their platform." No doubt Dr. Malan thought that such a statement would convince the public of the loyalist aims of those he leads in the Union Parliament. Either Dr. Malan was wilfully and deliberately endeavouring to mislead us all, or else he is in entire ignorance of the aims and objects of his party as set forth in their signed and published manifestoes and the Party's constitution.

Let us begin with the flag question. At the Congress of the Party held at Paarl in 1919 a series of resolutions were passed which formed the Party's "programme of action." The section of the "programme of action" dealing with the Flag reads as follows: "(d) Provision is necessary for our own flag to *take the place of the Union Jack in all respects.*" (The italics are mine.) So that there can be no doubt as to the aims of the Nationalist Party on the Flag question; and the Labour Party in Parliament when they voted for the elimination of the Union Jack voted for the secessionist Nationalist Party and their programme of action.

THE PROOF.

What proof is there that the Nationalist Party is a secessionist party? There is, first of all, Article 4 of the Nationalist constitution, which is involved and has many redundant sentences but, stripped of all unnecessary verbiage is quite clear in the last lines which say "and will ultimately achieve complete freedom and sovereign independence." The full text of Article 4 is as follows:—

> "The *existing* relations between the Union and the United Kingdom are frankly admitted by the National Party.
>
> "As, however, the *ultimate* destiny and aim of the people of the Union (as of every other self-respecting nation) must be its complete freedom and sovereign independence, and as the friendly relationship between South Africa and the United Kingdom can exist only on the basis of such complete freedom and sovereign independence, therefore the National Party *will seize every opportunity and employ every means,* to maintain faithfully the existing rights and freedom of the Union and further to extend them by constitutional means in the interests of South Africa, until South Africa as an autonomous State will in the fullest sense be on an equal footing with the United Kingdom, *and will ultimately achieve complete freedom and sovereign independence.*"

So we have the evidence so far of the Congress at the Paarl in 1919 and of the Nationalist Constitution in support of the statement, which I make without any hesitation, that the Nationalist Party is secessionist, and that as far back as 1919 the determination to have a Flag to replace the Union Jack *"in all respects"* was part of the policy of the Nationalist Party.

THE BLOEMFONTEIN MANIFESTO.

But these items are by no means the sum total of the evidence of the Nationalist secessionist policy. We come now to the manifesto issued under the signatures of General Hertzog as chairman and Mr. C. W. Malan as secretary, and published by them through Reuter's agency. This programme was drawn up at Stellenbosch in 1920, the year following the adoption of the programme at the Paarl, and is perhaps the most definite declaration of the Nationalist policy which has been issued. It was published in the Press in December, 1920, and is issued from Bloemfontein. It is a very long document, but it seems only necessary here to publish those paragraphs which deal with the secessionist issue. They are:—

"(1) Every nation has through the Providence of the Almighty the inborn and inalienable right to develop itself and through the necessary measures of civilisation obtain its sovereign independence and thus become of age.

(2) The only and the highest freedom for a nation which is of age is its own freedom—that is to say, the right to fix its own form of government and, if need be, to modify or alter it.

(3) A nation therefore does not really become of age unless it enjoys sovereign independence separated from any other nation.

(5) It is, therefore, quite natural and strictly constitutional for any citizen of the Union to strive for the sovereign independence of the Union of South Africa altogether separated from the United Kingdom or the British Empire, and to convince his fellow-citizens of the desirability thereof.

(7) The will and desire of the Dominion of South Africa must be expressed freely and without hindrance in a recognised constitutional political manner, i.e., by the franchise of the citizens of the Union. Commonsense and statesmanship indicate that the question of separation (secession) must not be hurried or forced, but that when the proper time arrives this question shall be specially referred to the people, this question alone, without the addition of any other question, in order that the voters may express themselves on the matter and give their decision at the polls specially and only on this matter. If a decided majority of the voters expresses itself in favour of separation, then it can be said with equity that the Dominion desires it.

(8) Secession is an ever-existing and lasting right until separation has finally been achieved."

There can surely be no doubt in anyone's mind, after reading the foregoing, that—unless we choose to believe that the Nationalist leaders are hoodwinking their own followers—the Nationalist programme includes a flag which shall have no semblance of this Dominion's attachment to the Empire, and that the elimination of the Union Jack is one of the steps leading onwards towards the avowed Nationalist objective of complete separation from the Empire and of sovereign independence.

DEFINITE STATEMENTS.

But there is still more to come. There appears to have been some anxiety in regard to the active carrying out of this policy of secession, and at the end of the manifesto there are very

definite statements obviously issued to satisfy the rank and file of the party on certain points. The most enlightening and important of these are as follows:—

(a) That it is absolutely untrue that the Nationalist Party has altered its attitude with regard to independence and secession.

(b) That it is just as untrue that the Nationalist Party stands for immediate secession of the Union.

(h) That it is untrue that the Hereeniging Congress failed on any other point than the refusal of the South African Party to ask for the right of secession and retain independence as a principle or to regard it as a practical ideal.

(i) That it is absurd to assert that the Union already possesses sovereign independence, or that it can attain it as part of the British Empire.

The whole manifesto is signed—

"On behalf of the Federal Council of the Nationalist Party.

(Signed) J. B. M. HERTZOG, Chairman.
C. W. MALAN, Secretary.

Bloemfontein, December, 1920."

BITTERNESS AGAINST S.A.P. DUTCH.

In one of these small paragraphs, namely, that which says "that it is untrue that the Hereeniging Congress failed on any other point than the refusal of the South African Party to ask for the right of secession and retain independence as a principle or to regard it as an ideal," we get the reason for the bitterness of the attacks upon General Smuts, Mr. Francis Malan, and those other Dutch gentlemen who stand firmly to their oaths of allegiance and their plighted word. If the Nationalists could secure the support of all their Dutch-speaking fellow South Africans, they feel that their position would be stronger, and they would no doubt ignore more completely and indifferently any objections we English-speaking South Africans might raise.

The Labour leaders are bought and paid for. There is an endeavour to bamboozle the Labour rank and file into the belief that it is as meritorious to make two flags fly where one flew before, as it is to make two blades of grass grow in the place of one, and to induce Labour to believe that secession is not a living issue. In order to satisfy any doubters on the latter point there is the following paragraph in the Bloemfontein manifesto of 1920:

"(17) Pending the realisation of our national ideal, namely, sovereign independence for South Africa separated from the United Kingdom (or/and) the British Empire we must take steps to gain equality with England in every practical manner and in reality."

STEADY MOVEMENT TOWARDS SECESSION.

So there is to be that steady onward movement towards separation from the United Kingdom and the British Empire, the chief recent indication of which policy was the endeavour to remove the Union Jack from the South African National Ensign. The South African Party has stood firmly by the British connection, and for that reason Mr. Tielman Roos hates it with a deadly hatred, and said at Kroonstad on Wednesday, June 23rd last: "The

South African Party must be destroyed for ever, and the non-existence of the South African Party would be a blessing for the country." I have often thought that the South African Party leader says too much about "our enhanced status," and that some of the other Unionist leaders are too much inclined to minimise the dangers which threaten the future of South Africa, but we can all be heartily thankful that many loyalist Dutch were found who refuse to abandon duty and principle and who stand to-day for the maintenance of the Flag and the British connection.

NO COMPROMISE POSSIBLE.

There can be no compromise over the Flag matter, as there can be none over the retention of the Imperial ties and connexion. Compromises are often possible over details, but are impossbile where vital principles are at stake.

In terms of the Bloemfontein manifesto, Clause 7, if the Nationalist Party can obtain a decided majority at the polls for secession, then "it can be said with equity the Dominion desires it." In order to be more certain of securing that majority 14,000 Native voters in the Cape Province are to be removed from the register and the representation of the Cape Province changed. The South African Party, in Mr. Tielman Roos's words, "must be destroyed for ever." The leaders of the Labour Party have been bought and paid for, and Colonel Creswell has the impudence to say that secession is a bogey. Fortunately we have the Nationalists' written words, and Colonel Creswell, who is so closely associated with them, is left to choose whether he believes the written word of his own Prime Minister or not. Whether he believes him or whether he disbelieves him, Colonel Creswell has no right to be where he is, a humble servant of those who have declared their aims to be the removal of the Union Jack and ultimate complete separation from the British Empire.